

31-JAN-85

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1: Outline of TV Story--First Cut 1/31/85

2: Pentagon, '64-'65

2.1: Tonkin Gulf

2.1.1: Snapping in, reading cables

2.1.2: Action in Tonkin Gulf

2.1.3: White House decision

2.1.4: Doubts raised in Westpac

2.1.5: Following attack in Pentagon

2.1.6: Tonkin Gulf Resolution

Role of Fulbright, Ball, Nelson, Morse

Prior drafting: Bill Bundy

Private and public purposes

Questions raised, lies

Absence of provocation

34A Operations/ Junk operations

Relation to DeSoto patrols

Was there an attack? Evidence

Use to be made of Resolution by Administration

Plans for escalation: bombing; troops

2.2: Holding on, preparing possible loss

2.3: Planning escalation, provocation

As soon as the JCS realized that the North Vietnamese could be provoked into attacking American forces, they began enthusiastically to generate plans to do so. One of the options, for example, was creating sonic booms over Hanoi by US reconnaissance planes. If high-altitude booms were not sufficiently intimidating, the JCS pointed out, then planes

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breaking the sound barrier "on the deck" could "break every window in Hanoi." (See Bartlett and Weintal, Facing the Brink).

If that didn't get a rise...

2.4: Election

2.4.1: Bombing NVN and Laos

2.4.2: Use of nuclear weapons *see May '64*

2.4.3: Delegation of nuclear weapons

3: Vietnam, '65-67

4: RAND, '67-'69

5: PP, '69-71

6: Trial, '71-'73

7 atergate, '73-'74

8: End of war, '75

- 1: My understanding of Nixon's Vietnam policy, 1969-71
- 2: Nixon's actual, secret Vietnam policy (Hersh, Nixon)
- 2.1: Early 1969 (Options paper, mutual withdrawal proposal)
- 2.2: May 1969-November 1969: November ultimatum, Duck Hoop
- 2.3: December 1969--May 1972 (VNZ, "negotiations," "pressure"/"demos")
- 2.4: May '72--Feb '73 (heavy pressure, US withdrawal/ceasefire, Accords)
- 2.5: March '72--April '73 (US troops withdrawal, POWs, prepare bombing)
- 2.6: April '73--August '73 (Fund cutoff; attempt to restore, but WG...)
- 3: My motives in copying Pentagon Papers, in 1969
 - 3.1: My understanding of Nixon's VN policy (from MHH, Vann)
 - 3.2: My parallel experience from 1964-65: "Doing it again"
 - 3.3: Reading full PP, especially earliest part (1945-56)
 - Even hst had been warned (by Vincent), like all successors
 - Four Presidents had secretly escalated, despite warnings
 - No likelihood of stopping fifth President, from Inside
 - Likewise for sixth President, and subsequent
 - End of my desire to be "President's man" in future (brutality,
- 3.4: October Moratorium imminent, as hopeful context and channel
- 3.5: Hope to head off Nixon from committing himself, to "Dem's War"
 - Prospect of Fulbright Hearings, on extrication
 - Nixon had not yet declared himself (prior to Nov. 3)
 - Hope of reconvening Bermuda Group (Carnegie; Vance, Joe ...)
 - Approaches to Kennedy, Warnke, McPherson.
- 3.6: Impact of WRL Conference (Kehler, Eaton vigil, Niemoller)
 - Also, ISNV study group on Ecology (Wallrich, Diane)
- 3.7: Discussion with Kehler; plans including nuclear revelations
- 3.8: Need for "elders" and Democrats to accept responsibility

Only way for an incumbent President, Repub, to get out

Must be done soon in new President's first year

Youth would be resisting, risking prison; should not be alone

"Those I would like to respect" should share risks

No right to protect Dems from "bloodbath" by VNese deaths

3.9: Dismissal of murder charges against SF officers

"My system, for 15 years: lies, top to bottom, to conceal murde

"No one will ever tell me when to lie again."

"Or kill again."

"I have 7000 pages of documentation of lies and crimes..."

4: Events surrounding copying of Pentagon Papers

4.1: October 1969--April 1970 copying process

Tony, Robert, Mary, etc. (K, LS; storing...)

In and out of RAND; technical considerations

Police visits

Zucky's, Malibu: "How can I be doing this?"

Rand letter: publicity; visitors at home.

Telling J, BW

Deciding what to copy.

Thai becomes "co-conspirator," inadvertently

4.2: RAND letter, on getting out of Vietnam

"I agree on extrication: what do we do?

Reasons for letter, rather than RM (clearance)

Drafting process

Clearance with hsr; RAND letterhead

Pressure from Ikle, Wolf

Counter-letters

Meeting with Ikle; handover to Steve Roberts

"What I can't stand is, it's so inefficient."

"Who knows more about operating, Fred, you or me?"

"Why don't you write a TS memo to SAC: VN hurts budget?"

To Roberts: Take this and don't answer calls.

Kraft: "Vs. code of the apparatchik."

Denunciations from RAND colleagues

"No right to jeopardize my job"

Attacks on hsr

Clearance investigations by OSI

Congress threats to delete RAND budget

Interest from media; interviews

Invitation from Fulbright (Lowenstein) to testify

Wolfe asks me to resign; "You'll have to fire me."

To hsr: "I'm going to cause you a lot more trouble."

4.3: Nixon speech announced for November 3; Fulbright postpones hearing

4.4: Pat arrives for visit, as Sam calls me to Washington to answer Nix

4.5: Pat joins me (forever) to go to Washington

We watch Nixon speech on arrival from airport;

Meeting at Dupont Plaza; I inquire about room (and forget)

Next day I discover, on Hill, Pat has moved, with luggage (PP)

I call all hotels; wonder about Pat (her reappearance)

I find her, waiting, at Dupont (recalling inquiry)

4.6: Responding to Nixon's Nov 3, 1969, "Vietnamization" speech

First reaction to Nixon: "He didn't announce any withdrawals!"

I draft response, on "Nixon's War"; resolution in Congress

Mondale requests meeting: "I don't have the guts" (of RAND lett

4.7: I discuss PP with Fulbright (and Jones), hand over 1000 pages

"Would you like to read the Tonkin Gulf account yourself?"

"Indeed, I would."

Discussion of handling: I willing to risk jail, but "no need"
Options: request to DOD for study, or cables; hearings.

I discuss, afterwards, with lawyer, H; he gets memo.

4.8: Return to RAND for more copying

Call from Randy Kehler: "Janaki's dead."

Night on the beach: poem.

Call to Gerhardt, Janaki.

Pat returns; I propose that night.

Pat temporizes...

4.9: November 15 Moratorium

Wildavsky invites me to seminar, to join PA faculty

Next day, Pat and I march in GG Park; attend WRL party

4.10: December, 1969: Hearings cancelled, Nixon has won time.

I discuss future with Yarmolinsky.

I decide to stay at RAND, finish studies of "Lessons"

4.11: Cong. Tribunal on War Crimes in VN (Falk, Taylor); denounce bombing

4.12: Vann: Chau arrested, Vann forbidden to help further (leaks)

I join Cooke in leaking word on Chau: Richardson, HAK sympathiz

I draft memos, article for NYT Magazine on Chau

4.13: April '70--Sept '70

FBI visits Carol; she tells me

Resign from RAND

Chau memos, problem of clearing article

Investigation of leaks on Chau from Richardson's office

Revolt in Physics Division, prospect of split (Gelinsky, hsr

My expectation that FBI will question, arrest me

Accept MIT offer (to balance WPBundy!)

Move set of PP to Cambridge

Antiwar riot in Harvard Square, same night

[Unknown to me, FBI visits RAND, describes investigation of me

hsr: "Not a security breach; Fulbright has right to docs.

RAND decides to leave investigation to FBI, not tell me

I am to be cut off from access to TS (not enforced)

Discussion between AJW and AEM

Unknown to RAND, FBI drops investigation: "Embarrass Bureau.

CIA cuts me off from access to files (unknown to me), Sept.

Copy "last" of PP in New York, edit "TS" in deli, send Fulbright

Help produce "Advocates" program on Cambodia (Clifford, Ridgewa

My first teach-in, first public speech on war

Oppose burning of ROTC

Return to Washington with Mathias ("President unbalanced")

Drive from airport with Mathias: city under siege

Observe demos, sit-downs, tear-gas in Washington, with Pat

SWP monitors prevent CD, block Dellinger: missed opportunity

Polls shows majority of public considers war immoral.

I appear on Advocates, on Cambodia, with Dole, Sullivan, Goodel

Dole: "No imaginary line worth life of one American boy."

I testify before Fulbright

Describe political situation in VN (and Chau example)

US "vital interest" in extrication from VN

Existence of documents on Tonkin Gulf; Fulbright requests

(RAND orders all documents removed from my safe, same day)

Return to RAND as consultant, to finish D on "Judo"

Copy more documents, including Simon on 1964, others.

Warn Guy Pauker not to visit White House reception

He tells HAK, Nixon : "For first time, I'm optimistic"

Meets Agnew, suggests RAND consulting for him

Scanlon's claims RAND/Agnew Study on postponing elections

hsr denies to me: "We haven't, and we wouldn't"

What if study asked, How to ensure elections: postponement o
"We wouldn't, now that you've mentioned it."

Working on "Escalating in a Quagmire."

Change title to "Quagmire Myth." (Later trouble with Gelb).

Notes stolen, LAX, on return from honeymoon.

Rewrite draft from memory, deliver at APSA.

Deliberately include references to PP, "classified access."

For same reasons (test reaction), copies to HAK, Warnke, McN

Turned down ("too long, " "history, ") by Atlantic, Harpers, e

Conclusion: Can't deliver message academically, without docu

First visit to San Clemente, with Shearer, talk to HAK

HAK is reluctant: "DE has all the clearances." Finally agree

Engagement party, I ask: What to discuss with HAK?

Kellen: "Tell him he knows nothing of his enemy."

Vision of Nixon, Rebozo.

HAK: "I have learned more from DE...about...bargaining..."

"You have a very good memory." "They were very good lectu

HAK palms me off on Haig for lunch; I "leak in" view of N st

HAK agrees to another meeting.

MARRIAGE! August 8, 1970. .

We hand over PP to IPS, with restrictions, in NY.

Call with Janaki, on her adoption of Gautama.

Late to Scarsdale; Harry and I late out to ceremony (no call

"I will love you, Patricia, and honor you; cherish and keep

Presbyterian-Episcopal ceremony; movement minister
Robert and Mary; Dad (thrilled at Hank Greenburg);
Helicopter; I lose my wallet, all credit and ID cards (WH, C
Dancing in the dark; calling to find wallet.

Honeymoon on Maui

Tripping on flowery estate of Interpol agent, Louis' frie
Seven Sacred Pools; "boy scouts" (Pat naked); "My peyote"
Return to meet appointment with HAK

Account in Rolling Stone interview, 1974.
HAK urges me to meet again, "about options," early September
I refuse, because of moving to Cambridge with Pat.

End up with Fielding.

Final copying, at second location.

Move to Cambridge.

4.14: October, 1970--June 1971.